1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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VII. A LITTLE GIRL PLANTING SWEET POTATOES IN HER MOTHER'S FIELD

[Facing p. 66]

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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IX. NDIMBOMI, A CHRISTIAN WOMAN, STOOPING TO GREET A MAN

[facing p. 70]

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

ments and fine clothes, or a splendid herd of cattle—all these are forms of *ukumoga*.

Traditionally Nyakyusa women wore only a bark-cloth belt tied around the waist and drawn between the legs to fall in streamers in front (cf. Plate XIII), and the pagan women cling to this dress, maintaining that it is only 'Swahili women with dirty diseases' who have to wear clothes to cover their sores, and if a pagan woman has a cloth she will probably wave it like a flag or hang it over one shoulder, when she dances. Except for the Christians, few Nyakyusa women regularly wear clothes. The Christians like a brightly coloured cloth tied under the armpits, and hanging to the knees (cf. Plate IX). Women make their own bark-cloths with great care, and decorate them with geometrical patterns in red and black, the red dye being imported from the Livingstone mountains; they mix this same dye with a fatty ointment made from the seeds of the *unyunguti* tree, and rub it all over themselves. The most prized ornament (worn by both sexes) are body rings of coiled brass or copper wire (cf. Plate XIII). In the past men went naked except for these body rings[1] but, unlike the women, they have taken enthusiastically to clothes, and swagger around in brilliant loin-cloths or flowing white togas; or, if rather more sophisticated, in freshly pressed shorts and shirts, or lounge suits and topees.

The series of ceremonies at a girl's initiation and marriage, and at a funeral, are regular occasions for dancing, and the birth and death rates are so high that these occur very frequently within a chiefdom of 3,000 men. Once in a generation the eagerly anticipated 'coming out' ceremony offers an even greater opportunity for display. Skill in dancing is admired and the young people are encouraged to practise. A bride's mother does a great deal of the heavy work for her daughter, saying '*amoge tan*', which means literally 'let her display herself first', and implies 'let her have a good time while she can'; and a father may use the same phrase of his son. Angombwike explained: "The old men used to take great pride in their sons; often a man would say to his son: "Don't you hoe for me, I'll do the hoeing myself, you go and swagger about." Sometimes a man would sell a cow and buy a huge-bladed spear and give it to his son. Then, if he heard that his son

[1] cf. Elton, op. cit., p. 322; H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa*, p. 18.

1: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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XIII. DISPLAY—THE *UKUMOGA* DANCE AT A MARRIAGE FEAST
A woman in the foreground is wearing the traditional brass body-rings

[facing p. 130]

1:Wilson E-5 (1934-1938) 1951 FN17 Ngomde FN17
Nyakyusa

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XIV. A MEN'S *UKUMOGA* DANCE AT A FUNERAL

[facing p. 131]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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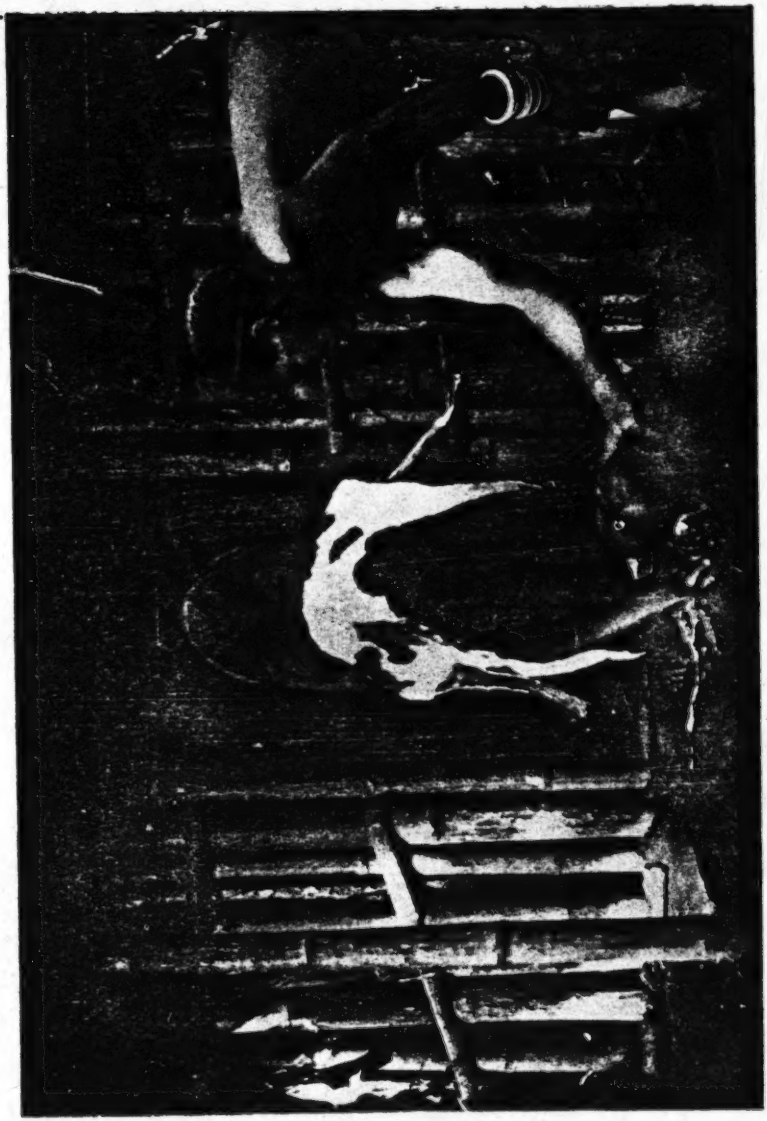

4. *The bride washes with* ikipiki *in the doorway of her mother's hut*

[facing p. 85]

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa
Selya, MuNgonde

them and polite greetings were exchanged. The bride herself 585
crouched down with her head covered with a cloth, but after the greetings were completed she sat up and chatted with them. Then one of the groom's 'village mothers', who was the officiant in the ritual, his sister, and two young women from his village, took the bride to the stream to wash. The officiant told the young women to carry her, which they did for a few yards, then they put her down. Her maids sang and she herself danced a few steps. Women came out of the houses as we passed, dancing and clapping. At the stream the bride took off her old bark-cloth and bathed with her maids. As she finished she stepped into a flat winnowing basket (*uluselo*) for a minute, then stepped out, and her husband's sister decked her with four brass body-rings (*vide* plate 7) and a [301] ●
folded cloth (*umpepe*) hanging down from the rings behind like a tail. The bride shook the 'tail' and the others laughed and cried: '*Kipetule*[1] *tukunsepeka*[2] (It is turned over! We clothe her with the male genital covering!)' They walked back again laughing, and when they reached the first houses one of the party said: 'We should carry her now.' Another demurred: 'Let's go a little further, she's heavy.' Then a woman of the village came along and called: 'Carry her! Carry her!' They arrived at her mother's house singing: '*Nisya, Nisya, Nisya*! (Put me down!)' The groom's 'mothers', the bride herself, and her maids, all sang this. The rest of the groom's party joined in and they walked up and down the courtyard carrying her and singing '*Nisya, Nisya.*' The groom's own mother carried a winnowing basket on her head and the bride's 'mothers' rushed out and threw into it small bowlfuls of millet, maize, pumpkin-seeds and lentils.[3] This grain goes to the groom's 'mothers': 'The mother-in-law drinks beer made from the millet.' Then the bride was made to sit down in the doorway of her mother's hut; the officiant sat behind her, shaved a little of the sprouting hair from the front of her head, and smeared her head, [302]
arms, legs, and stomach with ointment and red powder supplied by her own mother. Powdered medicine supplied by the groom's mother was added to the shaving water.

When her toilet was completed, the women called the men to come and give their gifts. The bride and her maids crouched down and the cloth removed from her buttocks was spread

[1] *Okupetula*: to turn over.
[2] *Okusepeka*: to clothe, from *ikisepe*: male genital covering.
[3] Beans, cowpeas and ground-nuts are also mentioned as being given at this time.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

the boys form a queue and bend forward, holding out their hands while she poured water over the hands of each of them. After washing, each took a mouthful of water and spat it out. They were warned not to spill it on their legs as they washed and spat. Some young men washed with the boys, and women watching shouted advice, but a number of the boys went off without taking a mouthful of water or without spitting. After the boys came the girls, and then the women and babies and some more small boys who had arrived late. We counted twenty-six boys and young men, twenty-six girls and babies, and twenty-four women washing.

Then came the splashing of legs. The doctor shredded a banana sucker to make a tail. All the company gathered round the boiling pot of medicine, and the doctor, dipping the tail into the pot, splashed the boiling liquid on to their legs. Children screamed; women hopped with the pain, but shouted to their children to come and be treated. Frightened small children were hauled back by men, women, and elder children—a full sister of the twins, about 9 years old, was dragged in yelling. Mothers were especially careful to see that their babies were splashed, and pulled up the cloths binding them to their backs, so that their legs might be exposed. Mwakobela and his brother came to be splashed but some of the young men hurried away immediately after washing, disregarding the women who shouted to them that it was taboo for them to leave before they had been splashed. The women took the whole ritual much more seriously than the men, and they were very particular to see that their children were treated. One old woman who had helped a child to wash, holding its hands, came back again to wash herself. The doctor and other women shouted that she had already washed. She replied: 'Oh, I just helped the child. Have I really finished?' The mother and remaining twin did not stir from the hut—she looked dirty and dishevelled. The doctor was elegant; she wore five brass body-rings and her body was well oiled and rouged. She organized everyone with great confidence and was treated with respect, a mat being spread for her to sit upon (no other woman had a mat), and her assistant fetching and carrying everything she required.

Many of the women relatives had brought gifts of millet and after the treatment was over they tipped their small basketfuls into a big grain basket. Then they had a snack of roasted plantains (Mwakobela provided three stems) and went home.

2: Wilson E-5 (1934-1938)1957 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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7. The officiant at a twin ritual anoints a child

[facing p. 164]

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[facing p. 165]

8. *Preparing the meat for the participants to snatch at a twin ritual*

Nyaktyuse
2: Wilson E-3 (1934-1959/1991 FMH) Negative #

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

[Frontispiece]

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AN ITINERANT ENTERTAINER.

He is dressed in skin and leather head-dress, armlets, skin kilt, and body rings, the number of which latter indicates his social position. He carries, as professional properties, a spear, a skin pack, rattles, horns, bells, and a stringed musical instrument.

[FACING p. viii]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

Man
of social position are known by the number of *manyeta* 291
(body rings worn on the waist) which they wear: [301 ●
one for a man or woman just "above the common"; 554]
six or seven for a man of high standing. A few women have begun, to their own great discomfort, to wear the immense coils of brass or iron on wrists or ankles which are so popular among other tribes.

Clothes, says an acknowledged authority on the 291
subject, make the man. Not among the Konde. 643
Chungu is a great chief, but his greatness does not 554
depend on what he wears, although there are occasions when he dresses more carefully than at other times. This almost naked man is regarded with a reverence greater than is granted to any but a very few Europeans, and out of all recognition greater than is felt for the native who swaggers about in boots and helmet and white man's clothes. The respect which is accorded to a European depends to-day (though it did not in the past) upon his personal character, his control of resources, the authority which has been bestowed upon him by others. But Chungu, with hundreds of other chiefs throughout Bantu Africa, has a respect which is gained in a totally different fashion. He is in close touch with unseen powers. His prayers have a compelling power, his benediction is priestly, his curse of fearful validity. He is a channel through which may come weal or woe upon the land; and hence his authority depends in no degree upon such an accident as dress.

By almost all who know them the Konde are re- 461
garded as lazy. And to the bustling, and perhaps

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

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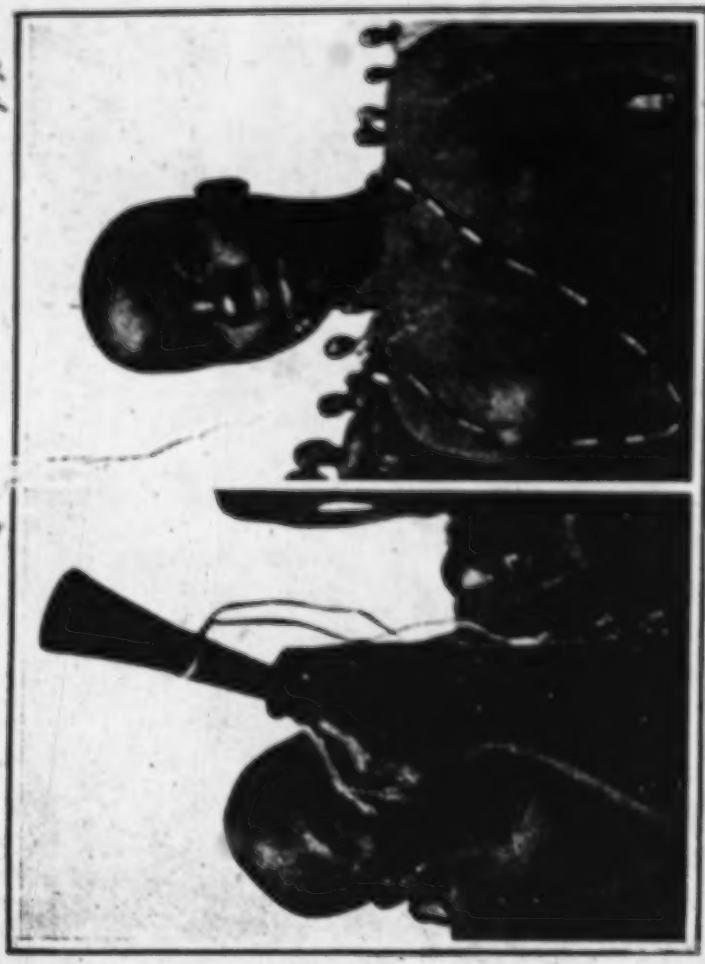

276

A Young Woman.

Tobacco Smoking.

[Facing p. 64]

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

empty?" Mwaikuyu said, "Why should we die? 326
I will call the people to worship."

The most important products of the smithy are 411
hoes and spears. Of the latter there are about a 412
dozen different kinds, for war, hunting, fishing; with broad or narrow blades; plain or with one, two, or three prongs; with long or short hafts. Axes are made for cutting down trees, digging out canoes, and all heavy work; some are slightly bent, and are used adze-wise; a small one, very sharp, is used for smoothing woodwork and finishing it off. There is also the *isenge*, a kind of cross between a hooked axe and a small scythe, used mostly for clearing bush land; and a long-bladed axe, carried by chiefs over the shoulder, and serving only as an ornament.

Knives are made of many patterns and sizes, with or without sheaths. A long spear-bladed knife is used for grass cutting, and a neat small strip of iron, sharpened at one end, not along the blade, is used as a razor. Arrows are not much used, as the Konde are not given to the use of the bow except for killing birds. Fish hooks were originally barbless, but some are now made on the European pattern. Needles are made for sewing mats; smaller ones for sewing breaks in calabashes, and others for sewing basket-work. Cow bells, tiny bells worn by little children on the ankles, anklets, and bracelets for women, complete the list. [301]

For lake-shore people, and those living near the 501
larger rivers, the most important wood-working art is canoe making, and the average Konde canoe is a

3: Mackenzie M-5 (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

notwithstanding the accident, accepted the inevitable, and were ferried safely across.

For the rest, the variety of woodwork includes carved walking-sticks, with straight, knobbed, or bent handles; chairs, stools, pillows, musical instruments, and wooden platters. In the Bundali district remarkably good Rurkee chairs are made on the European pattern, with perfectly smoothed spars, and perfectly burned-out holes for fitting the parts together. The one in my possession might quite well have been made in a carpenter's shop, but the only tools used were an axe and a knife, and a piece of iron for boring the holes. Toothed hair ornaments and small wooden dolls represent the finer work; and bamboo cups are decorated with pleasing patterns in poker work.

More important than the woodwork is the ancient craft of the potter. There is, of course, no potter's wheel, everything, from the immense pots, three feet high, down to the smallest eating dish, being formed by hand, built up, as regards the larger ones, by successive layers of clay, and finally hardened, after drying in the sun, by being put on a fire, while another fire is kindled inside. There is a great variety of pots, both in shape and in size. The very large ones are used for storing grain or flour; and some Europeans employ them for storing water. A well-stocked house will have up to twenty pots, for water carrying, for cooking porridge, fish, beans, flesh; and special ones are kept for beer making and drinking. The best clay is found at the north end of the lake, and from there

J. Mackenzie M-S (ca. 1925) 1925
FN17 Ngonde FN17

287 sometimes long coats. They look well for a few weeks and then take on a dirty depressing appearance, and it is safe to say that with the reduction in price of Home goods bark-cloth will go out of favour.

281 [285] Leather work has not developed to any great extent. Women use undressed skins for carrying babies; and men, in remote districts, use them as aprons. In Poloto skins are sewn together to form garments, and in the Kings Mountains the skins worn by the women are pleasingly decorated with shells, while the leg skins are skilfully cut into strips and used as ties, by which to bind the skin on the back. They are seldom worn in front, and the Kings women go in furs as to their backs, while a small bunch of grass alone clothes the front. Shields, wide and narrow; blacksmith's bellows of undressed goat skin; tobacco and snuff pouches, waist belts, caps, sandals; and long strips of hide for binding purposes, such as the haft of a spear, are all or nearly all the uses that are made of leather, if indeed the term leather should be used at all, as most of the articles named are made from unprepared skins.

• 301 Beads are strung into pleasing patterns by using various colours, and are worn in strings or broad bands, on neck, forehead, arms, ankles, shoulders. [291] Children often go clad only in a tiny apron of beadwork, and girls in the Kings Mountains wear similar aprons until marriage.

532 One European house in my neighbourhood is decorated with a frieze of crude representations of men on foot or on horseback, motor-cars, cycles, birds,

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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THE KYUNGU, PETER

[opposite title page]

9: Wilson E-5 (1934-1955) 1959
FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

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19. MARIA, A CHRISTIAN ELDER

[opp. p. 167]

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939) 1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

usa. It is true that one still meets blacksmiths on the outskirts of the villages or some distance away from them (as in the case of the Ndali tribe, western to the Nyakyusa area), but they no longer smelt the iron from ore mined by themselves as in former times. The smith of to-day remelt only scrap iron from disused motor-cars and other machines into tools, hatches, and spear-heads, unless, of course, the natives prefer to buy imported iron-ware. As with the Chaga, also the Nyakyusa smith can only be persuaded to submit to being photographed after long negotiation and a change into better clothes. The blacksmiths I met in the Bundali Mountains, however, made no objections whatever to being photographed at their work. Also women were allowed to attend. But one feature of the ancient Nyakyusa blacksmith's culture has been preserved till the present day: the lower part of the bellows through which the air blast is driven into the fire is still made of wood. This feature has been defined by H. Baumann as an element of the "ancient nigritic culture".

12. Dress. The cloths of the Nyakyusa have changed to a very considerable degree since the beginning of European influence. A comparison of the earliest pictures and descriptions of inhabitants at the northern end of Lake Nyasa with the dress of modern times brings out this point most forcibly. Originally the Nyakyusa went almost naked, adorned only with rings and belts, but nowadays all degrees of compromise with European fashions of dress are to be found, especially near the European settlements and Mission Stations. The most conservative element are, in this case, the women. It is still possible to-day to observe in each village the preparation of the long strips of bark *(ilyubi, pl. amabi)* commonly worn by the women. The so-called *impandapanda* (Fotheringham: *mlambe)* tree furnishes the dress material. After the bark has been immersed in water, the bast is beaten with wooden instruments and then pulled off from the harder parts of the bark. These tools are like hammers; the flat end of such an implement is furrowed, sometimes with a disk made of horn, and as it produces patters on the bast it is called "*obosimba*", that which produces patters. These long belts, almost reaching the ground, especially in front, are mostly ruby coloured, but the women sitting in front of their huts manufacture also other types with geometrical (triangular) patterns in yellow and brown forming only girdles *(umpango)*. In addition to this minimum requirement in the way of dress some women around the waist also wear copper belts *(manyeta)*, made of thin copper-wire, spirally wound on a core of hairs from the tails of cows. These

14: Lehmann E-5 (1939)1951 FN17 Ngonde FN17
Nyakyusa

belts are also worn by men, nowadays below the other clothing. More and more pieces of cotton with imprinted patterns have come into vogue. They are worn around the lower part of the body or below the shoulders or fastened about one of them, and are bought from Indian shops. That this modern fashion, however, is something new in such places which are a little remoter from direct European influence was demonstrated to me when I came through a small village in the environment of Masoko. There by chance I met some young girls carrying a piece of cloth on the top of a long pole as if it were a banner. On enquiry I was told that this "banner" was nothing other than a piece of cloth newly bought by a woman of that village and that it was hoisted on a pole and carried in procession out of sheer joy that this woman had been able to buy it.

Menfolk throughout are fuller dressed, especially when they go dancing. The women, on the other hand, wear their ordinary dress also on such occasions. The dancing costume of the men — only the younger men participate in dancing — consists of a sort of tight-jacket or sweater and wide robes with coloured patterns. The hair is adorned with feathers. At work the men mostly wear only loin cloths or shorts. After work especially the older man wrap their bodies in blankets. It is very seldom nowadays to find even very old men still wearing the former national dress: a bundle of long grass in front and a smaller one behind tied to the waist by means of a string, as I found a man on a solitary spot near Rungwe Station. Little boys go altogether naked untill they are about three years of age. Little girls begin to wear a small *mabi* at an earlier age.

13. Art. One of the most interesting and striking features in the artistic endowment of the Nyakyusa are the decorations on the outer-walls of their huts. The latter are only painted, however, when the exterior of the framework of bamboo is mud covered, otherwise only the wooden doors (*ikifigo*, door) of the huts are painted. By no means every hut or house is painted, but only a limited number in each village, probably depending on the presence and industry of an artist as this art is as in other cases an individualistic one. One such artist was introduced to me in a village near Rutenganio. The ornaments consist in most cases of geometrical patterns in white and black, seldom in other colours, or they represent different sorts of animals, e. g. elephants, horses, cattle, snakes, etc. The richest designs I found in a long extended village on the right bank of the upper Kiwira. In an other case the names of the animals were written in Swahili below